

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

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For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used.

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Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners.

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One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khale), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

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require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six to eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is most often spread out on the floor, hung from nails or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby shaykhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the shaykhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Many are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, delivers purchases in the omnipresent wicker basket, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Basra Import Company," and are pad-locked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

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diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (lita). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

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One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill-owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

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Ismail Beg is a taxi, accompanied by two or three
heavily-armed bodyguards.

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A comparatively large group of men in the town
are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has
already been noticed that a number work for the govern-
ment on road repair, and others are called for a variety
of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself
short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their
fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable"
craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers,
and was probably hired not because of skill but because
he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus
effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside
from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more
or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar
carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among
the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of
Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated
man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who
violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or,
more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government
official who desires anything large moved from one place
to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In
addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers'
youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these
tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the
bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more.

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not found just as strongly in the illiterate peasant 351
 of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
 Rowandus all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
 surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
 and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
 servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [244]
 to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
 of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352]
 tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the [574]
 usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
 garden near Rowandus is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
 Jintian, whose house is built over the course of an icy
 mountain spring. This stream flows in a narrow channel
 through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
 in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
 brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
 benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
 extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and [457] ●
 children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
 held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
 the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
 youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
 roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
 against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354
 firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al- 3/2
 ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
 to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

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storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress.

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By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a shop does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the market

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the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Towns-
women of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

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If the society of adults in Rowanduk has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

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In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowanduk not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

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known by his trade, as in 'Umar Chalaki, 'Umar the Tea-
shop Owner, by a nickname, as in Shakir Majjin, Shakir
the Criminal, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali
Parsi, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the
Tribe of the Prophet may preface their name with sayyid,
"Lord," as in Sayyid Ahmad of Bates, and have the right of
wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use
titles such as agha or beg after their names, although the
townspeople often apply these to officials and officers
of the government elite. The only titles which precede
the proper name seem to be Arabic, haji, a pilgrim, walla,
a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Hashimite Tribe, and
sheikh, an aristocratic or religious chieftain. The titles
which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi,
and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief
walla of Rowanduz is formally addressed as Walla 'Abd al-
Karim Effendi. No local pattern could be discerned to
the aversion of calling a child by his proper name in
public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the
Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt
to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing
him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers
and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their
play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a
child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left
unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to
wander about the streets of the town, sometimes to their
peril.

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the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or garvish, the galla, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dinars," or [\$20.00]). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a sinkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a fishdash or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorastomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "White" or "Persian" abomination. [46]

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Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the 957

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opposing sides. Occasionally these "bouts" can disturb the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the "vaiders" took the money of the son of the assistant commandant of police. Another game is played with a rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a member of the opposing side, one of the first team is eliminated from further participation, and so it continues until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it. Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones or valises from a mark on the ground at a hole some distance away. Zik or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep, is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain way. Something similar to European or American "marbles" is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their elders. The elder boys, it might be noted, refuse to play with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, such more than the boys, are called to perform household tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care of the younger children. It is said that a mother will cause the eldest daughter to perform almost all of the domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

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wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the older males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowandus

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al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public.

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To illustrate further the character of the garwish, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rowandus. The story was recorded in the garden of Shakir Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iran disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

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My real name is Mustafa Asis, but my name as a garwish is Ikelife Hajji Mustafa Rowandusi. I am now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rowandus who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Asis who helps in my shop and the other is an infant.

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I was born in Rowandus and the name of my father was "Abd al-Isa Hasan 'Uman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the school-boys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had

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Fig. 10. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Teyarwa.

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262 It was stated that the first milk strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy⁴⁵. Milk could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese⁴⁶.

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215 Milk diluted with water becomes *salade*⁴⁷, a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. Milk is also the material from which butter, *hane*, is churned⁴⁸. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, milk is poured into the churning sack, *saft*, made of a whole gourd or turned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a wicker patch. The women pour the milk down the neck opening of the skin, which is then fast over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a wicker cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally⁴⁹ either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

Cooking

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mhur* and *day*, sheets of bread folded into cones to be used as spoons when eating the *mhur*²⁶², and, rarely, fried eggs, *hilla*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter²⁶², with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or beef. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Poultry could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spiced on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder²⁶², is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kabab*—not the Turkish kind²⁶² consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *shalya*²⁶² or ladies' fingers, and *shalya* or eggplant²⁶² plus *gherkin*, brinjal, lentils, marrow, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas²⁶² are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mhur* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow nectars and water nectars. A favourite dish at Toprawa, Sulaimani and Balika is wine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a earthenware with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water²⁶². Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.345 m. long (R. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

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Analysis of the child's status

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when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises⁸⁵⁸. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it⁸⁵⁸.

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks. ⁸⁵⁵
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The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults. ⁸⁵⁸
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Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Ostrop has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time⁸⁶¹. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the ⁸⁵⁸
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- 857 summer holidays. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used at night the iron beds, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the waiting upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

883 The elder of these two sons, aged 18, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers at the
178 Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which lost its inner coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the sheikh's farm every morning on horseback. The other hands from Toprawa and Rikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty little mechanic in overalls, resuming his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the clay terrace outside the central room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the aristocratic village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

883 The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic
562 activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and milking out in the
868 mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and washed in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

883 For that matter schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants
1872 in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilized in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains as fodder, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

883 In the third and fourth environments, the educated and uneducated urban milieux, school-going
329 was customary for both boys and girls.

883 An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and
329 5 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1940 6 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

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Schooling

If, therefore, the effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman about

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involved for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

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Bishop⁷⁷ says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stokes⁷⁸ remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

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In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

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Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activities	I Village Artisanry		II Peasants		III Educated cities		IV Uneducated cities	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	X		X		X		X	
Work outside home			X	X				
Schooling		X			X	X	X	X
Street life		X		X		X		X

Common to girls in all four female environments is assistance in the house according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village millers, also help to the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an artisanatic village milieu the boys are sent away to school in towns like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

Marriage: choice of spouse

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substituted that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write? 871
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The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, led in Salimani what we should call a street life. Play-grounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel¹⁹ showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education. [887]

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ...; and towards the women (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule²⁰. 593
[883]
[887]

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran²¹. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of this father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts²². Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations²³, are: father's brother's daughter, *awda*, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, *pirza*, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, *adida*, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, *pirza*, (ortho-cousin marriage). 582
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In the homes I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach²⁴ and Barth²⁵ is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Topawu the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sargah. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"²⁶. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice so common in Islam areas.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taifir's brother said that if the desired bride had an older brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Topawu said further that a man in his miller was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith 583
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1779 pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

● [857] The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8-12 years old I did not see pray.
[883] The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

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[515] The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

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369 Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotion of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Toprawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Toprawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

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135 The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feeble-minded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European pambolator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the cleanup of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

554 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The
 788 two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be
 292 hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordinary
 pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban
 788 milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims
 1565 are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the
 10th du-Hijja namely 9-12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy
 1592 area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men
 put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson¹³ states that the colour
 for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled.

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the Ka'ba, the car
 1718 covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientate
 to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed
 running, begin at the black stone, the Ka'ba being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone
 must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, Zamzam
 which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-
 fold course between the two low hills, Safa and Marwa is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who
 here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the
 instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at
 Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plait.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that
 corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in an
 interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however,
 had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride
 to the plateau 'Arafat which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the home
 land should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani,
 262 in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when
 visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The
 252 dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped
 almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was
 laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended
 788 that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children
 527 in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of
 857 children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Springs had been set up at
 the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money,
 was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children.

Domestic parallels to the days of pilgrimage

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traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual 'Id al-Qurban or qurban habra, that is spent in Mink on the return from 'Arafat to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the Ka'ba seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, Safa and Marwa, whereafter they proceed to Mink where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, sawdust, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Mink. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from Mink with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the Ka'ba, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of Zamzam. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home *milieu* that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish women:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

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726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
727 in stirring tones how they retired to some
caves a couple of hundred yards from the
village and watched the bombs falling on
their homes. The only fly in the ointment
was that it was their own houses being
destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently
they regarded the affair with some amusement,
and themselves as naughty boys who had been
punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards.
It had taken them two months' hard work to
rearrange the village before the onset of winter;
so they decided that in future they would not
be led astray by promise of excitement unless
they were on the side of the British.

- 527 Another example of the sporting spirit
• 857 of the Kurds and their disregard for
safety is shown in the great sling fights
which take place between the children of
adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p.392(A)]

[p.391(B)]

- 526 the town. At intervals they go outside
the houses armed with slings and stones.
• 857 Sometimes as many as fifty boys of all
sizes and ages may gather on each side.
They commence a great battle, hurling
stones at each other with their slings until
one side finds the fighting too fierce and
beats a retreat. Woe betide the passing
stranger who unwittingly walks across 'no
man's land' while a battle is in progress!

Now that football has been introduced
in Kurdistan the time-honoured battles
with slings are being forgotten. Except in
the summer, when it is too hot for violent
exercise, they rarely take place, the
majority of the time being taken up in
kicking footballs about. The Kurds have
taken to football like ducks to water. In the
afternoons, when school is finished, every

[text continued on p. 392(c)]

[p. 392(A)]

526 square yard of uncultivated ground around
 857 the town is used for this game. Those
 who cannot find space in other parts run
 up and down the streets playing football.

621 The social system of the Kurds is
 622 essentially feudal. Up to recent times no
 566 man could prosper or even feel safe unless
 [566] under the protection of a powerful agha,
 whose armed retainers guarded the miskén
 (serfs) from any who might attempt to
 [657] tyrannize the village. In return for this
 the agha exercised an overlordship, col-
 lecting a percentage of the crops, a fee for
 marriages, and other taxes. He called
 out the villagers to fight an enemy when
 required, and was generally in the position
 of a feudal baron of ancient England.

An agha used his family as the basis of
 his power. He produced as many sons as
 possible, who would be loyal to him in an
 extremity, and put each in charge of a
 village, or group of villages, to unite them
 in the common cause when necessary. If
 sufficiently powerful he might bring other
 villages under his control by the simple
 expedient of annexing them from less
 powerful protectors. Thus in many Kur-
 dish tribes there is no blood relationship
 between the aghas and the miskén, but the
 aghas are of a common descent.

792 Another important feature in the social
 865 system is the shaikhs. Among the Arabs
 the term 'shaikh' signifies a tribal chief
 but in Kurdistan a shaikh is a holy man.
 Certain shaikhly families have acquired
 the title because they claim descent from
 the Prophet Mohammed, in which case it
 corresponds to the title of *sayyid* among
 other Mohammedan peoples; other shaikhs
 are holy men, but do not claim such
 ancestry. Not unnaturally the former
 class is the more influential and powerful.

It is unfortunate that a number of the
 shaikhs have not contented themselves
 with the religious welfare of the people.
 Like the priestly class throughout the
 world, they have at times used religious
 influence to increase material power, and
 become analogous to powerful tribal

131 personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[844] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be-

• [257] neath. When he reaches the age of five he is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of raxen shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

[852] [292]

852 He has another great festival when he is

304 [fast continues on p. 548]